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ABSTRACT

The issues that ignited the Solidarity movement in August 1980 had been fermenting for years during the Edward Gierek regime (1970-1980). This curriculum project presents students with an experiential exercise to provoke thinking about the economic shortcomings of the communist countries of the former Soviet bloc. The project also presents the issue of the heavy censorship of Polish media to disguise the government's shortcomings. It asks students to use statistical information to describe the living conditions for most Polish people during the 1970s. The project is divided into four sections: (1) "Experiential Exercise: The Unraveling of the Soviet-Style Economy"; (2) "Media Censorship"; (3) "Researching Life in Poland in the 1970s Using Microsoft (MS) Encarta"; and (4) "Bibliography." (Contains 14 references.) (BT)

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The social and economic collapse of Polish communism: life in Gierek's Poland

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Summer 2002

SO 034 477

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Summary:

The issues that ignited the Solidarity movement in August 1980 had been fermenting for years during the Gierek regime (1970-1980). Students are presented with an experiential exercise to provoke thinking about the economic shortcomings of the communist countries of the former Soviet bloc. The heavy censorship of Polish media to disguise the shortcomings is also presented for student analysis. Lastly, students use statistical information to describe the living conditions for most Poles during the 1970s.

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I. Experiential exercise: the unraveling of the Soviet style economy

This exercise is an adaptation of a lesson in the History Alive! curriculum produced by Teachers Curriculum Institute, Palo Alto, CA. The idea is not new, I know many teachers have done something similar over the years.

The basic idea is the create a factory assembly line scenario with the students working in a "team" and then give them impossible quotas to fulfill and no motivation to do the job well. Lastly, the students will be given a chance to purchase some goods and discover that the lines are incredibly long and unpredictable in terms of product availability.

Supplies:

1. 6-8 car templates (chose a really basic shape, black line drawing, all the same design. Try kindergarden coloring book for ideas)
2. Blank white paper
3. Scissors
4. Colored pencils or crayons
5. Fake zloty (the Polish currency) - 10 zloty bills. The denominations don't matter.
6. A small supply of really popular candy and then lots of a not too popular substitute – maybe even carrots (!)
7. If possible, get another adult to act as the shopkeeper. The teacher could play this role if only one adult is available

Directions

Create teams of 4 and give each team a "template" for auto production (or any type of product), some paper, pencils and scissors. Make sure to give one team more of something (more scissors, paper or pencils), or if give a really poor pair of scissors to one or two teams.

Tell students they need to trace these car templates onto their blank papers, color them and cut them out. Tell them to take pride in their workmanship. Don't put any time stipulation on them the first time through.

After 3 min. tell everyone to stop. Have each team tell you how many they made, say things like "bravo team so-and-so, well done" if you get a really high number of 'cars' made. Go around and pay all people the same rate. Say something like, "Let's all try and be like team so-and-so.

Tell them that now they have a quota to fulfill: 10 cars in 5 minutes. You can adjust this numbers as you go depending on your students. You might have a really fast class or not. If you notice they get done on time cut down your time allotment, the students probably won't notice. If students run out of any supply tell them you're working on it. Take your time but expect there will some frustration.

Pay them, praising the team that makes their quota. Hold up examples of their cars: chances are they will look horrible. Tell them they need to take more care, but here is their weekly paycheck. If you have a team that makes really nice cars comment on that and pay them the same and say that we all should try to strive for the quality of that team.

Now is the time to open up the store. Tell students they can "buy" some supplies. Today's hot item is the really popular candy ____. Charge 10 zlotys for two pieces of candy. Half way through the line close the shop saying you've run out. They should try again next time.

Repeat the quota procedure (maybe up the number a little), pay them and hold up examples and say things like, "Will this car run? What a bunch of junk! How much do you think they cost?" Get another pay cycle in. You may notice that students don't even try at this point. Try and encourage them though but you can't try to withhold their paycheck.

Open shop. If you have the good candy, sell it again but run out. Say the only thing available is the less popular candy ____. Don't get through the line, close early. You ran out.

Do one more pay cycle. Open the shop and sell the unpopular candy but raise the price significantly.

Have students go back to their 'job sites.' Tell them the game is over, throw away all the paper and get things back to the right place.

Make sure everyone gets a piece of the popular candy and tell them to get ready for the journal and debriefing. I always have kids write their impressions before we have a discussion because it gives a little more thinking time to kids who aren't the first ones to process the information. Ask Write on the board or overhead ideas for them to respond to such as:

- How did your cars look at the beginning of the game as compared to at the end?
- What factors made producing the cars difficult or frustrating?
- What made you want to work hard? Did your motivation to complete your quota change over the course of the game? Why?
- How did you feel about the 'director of production' or the 'candy seller?'

Have a class discussion on what you were trying to simulate in the game:

- Lack of initiative – no reward or profit motive
- Shortages of materials
- Shortages of consumer goods in the stores

Most textbooks on 20th century history will offer an explanation of the problems with centralized planning focusing on industrialization at the expense of consumer goods and inefficient farming practices due to collectivization. In Poland, collectivization never was successfully completed. There were large state farms but the private farmer still existed, in fact 80 percent of cultivated land was in the hands of individual peasant families. The government tried to force this group out of business because of the state's monopoly on agricultural machinery, fertilizer sales, and underhanded land deeds. It back fired and instead persecuted the class which fed the nation. Poland, the bread basket of central Europe, was forced to import food. (Davies p. 13)

II. A snapshot of Polish Censorship 1974-1977:

What does it reveal about the reality of Polish social and economic life?

The following information and documents were taken from a book titled The Black Book of Polish Censorship, edited by Jane Leftwich Curry. The documents were provided by an official in the censor's office in Krakow and smuggled to the West. He had collected and copied documents explaining the rules for censors to apply (approximately 70 pages) as well as teaching documents for censors detailing poor or well-done editing. These were compiled in the censor's own bi-weekly publication, *Report on Materials Censored*. The documents deal with censorship during the years 1975-77. In total, more than 700 pages of documents were smuggled out.

A. Background notes

Poles had lived with a censored media since the Communist Party (Polish United Workers' Party -- PZPR) took power in 1948. Communism had little or widespread support in the society because it was viewed as a Russian import. In the last days of World War II Stalin had eliminated the leadership of the indigenous Polish communist party for fear that it would challenge his authority. In an official 1980 poll only 36% of the population said it trusted the Communist Party.

After the death of Stalin there was a relaxing of the fear and propaganda fervor. Politics under Gomulka strove for peace and stability. His administration did not try to mobilize the population by forcing the media to speak in one voice. In 1956 concessions were granted to the Catholic Church, of which 95% of the population claimed to be a member. The primacy of the Church in Polish society was expected to diminish as the population became more modern. This never happened.

Gomulka did try to reign in the economic failures of his country with his plan for selective development of specific industries, which did not include aviation and the shipyards of the Baltic coast. This coupled with price hikes proposed just before Christmas in December 1970 resulted in massive strikes on the Baltic coast. Crowds of 15,000 in Gdansk swarmed the Party's headquarters. These in turn produced martyrs in Gdansk and Gomulka's replacement by Gierek. (see the student reading section at the end for more details).

Gierek's plan was to rapidly develop Poland's industrial base by importing technology, equipment and materials from the West, paid for with the low interest loans offered by Western nations to cement the détente of the early 1970s. In order for these economic reforms to take hold, politics and media had to be centralized and speak only of the "propaganda of success." Questions, alternatives, and failures were not part of the discussion.

By 1976 the economy was in need of serious adjustment and Gierek tried the same formula: a sudden increase in prices for the subsided industries including food. The results: hundreds of strikes broke out, and the prices were rescinded that same day. It became a cycle of temporary economic gain for the workers because often they were striking for better wages which were granted. By 1980 it was not only economic gains that were being demanded by workers. The Solidarity movement challenged the political legitimacy of the Communist Party with their demands of free speech and trade unions independent of party control. By December 1981 calls for free elections and a referendum on Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union demanded the Communist Party take action.

B. The hierarchy of censorship
Groups or leaders that had an effect on the media.
This list is not exhaustive. It would be too confusing to try and identify all potential offices.

- Politburo supervisor of media
- Press Department (of the Communist Party publications)
- Polish Press Agency (PAP)
- Main Office for Control of Press, Publications, and Public Performances (GUKPPiW), established in 1946: offices in Warsaw and regional centers

Poland in 1970 had a population of 30 million that read 56 different daily newspapers and 595 magazines, listened to 4 radio stations and 2 television channels, as well as read 220 different factory newsletters. The censorship machinery was massive. The more readership a publication received, the greater the scrutiny by censors it received.
During the 19070s censors intervened approximately 10,000 times a year in the Polish media (print, film, posters, etc)

Planning of a publication
This is very different than in the US. Even the staffs of dailies drafted yearly plans. It encouraged journalists to think ahead rather than report on daily events. All of these had to be submitted to the Press Department instructor responsible for the journal.

Once a story was written it was submitted to department editors who specialized in various fields—economics, sports, culture, etc—who then went over it before submitting it to the managing editor for review. The edition was then set in type and the first copy off the press sent to the censors. In the case of dailies, the censored copy came back in many hours; for a weekly, it came back in two days unless it needed a higher level of scrutiny; for monthlies, the censors held on to it for a month to approve it.

Radio and film had to submit their ideas and tapes for approval and review as well. Book publishers drew up five-year publishing plans and turned them in to the Ministry of Culture book department for approval. There were more alternatives available to censors: they could produce only a very few number of a title, those who wanted it could pay for it in advance. The audience was also reduced by making the title very expensive.

Self-censorship
Censorship also became almost part of the subconscious of every journalist, they in effect censored themselves before it came to the editor and then the censor. They were paid on what actually was allowed to be printed. Given past examples and press contacts knew what could not be reported and ceased to look in those areas.

There were rewards for working as a censor. They were put first on the housing lists, unlike most young Poles who had to wait ten to fifteen years for an apartment of their own. Censors could use specially stocked party stores and vacation spots.

The censors' rule and directives, and the self-censorship of the journalists themselves, paint a picture of Poland on the edge of economic collapse that turn to challenge the political authority of the communist party that had never been able to gain acceptance by the Polish nation.

A side note: not only did censorship deprive the population of information, it also deprived the leadership of it as well. Party leadership had to depend on bureaucrats to report their own failures, which was not willingly or accurately detailed. These rules and directives paint a picture

of Poland on the crest of the rapid collapse of the economy and political authority that would usher in the Solidarity movement of 1980.
(Curry, pp. 1-48)

Reasons for Censorship

Calculations based on the statistics from Report on Materials Censored for the years 1974-1976
(Curry p. 52)

Kinds of materials censored	Percentage of censored articles
Sociopolitical issues	38
Economic issues	19
Cultural-historical discussions	14
Religious topics	9
State secrets	20

Gierek's censorship proved to be out of touch with the society. Instead of creating a society that believed and worked towards the same goals, the population demonstrated their distrust in various forms. Voter apathy confirmed this sentiment. Below is an article from *Polityka* on research conducted at the government's major public opinion research institute. Obviously, it was not printed. (Curry pp. 58-59)

"...Only one citizen in three in this country has a very clear idea about the elections held on December 9, 1973, or about the sort of council to which he was electing representatives...One out of every five adult citizens did not have any idea who he was electing or to what."
"Questions were also asked about the quality of the preelection propaganda. Twenty-three percent...assessed it favorably ('the commentary and information were entirely convincing'). Exactly half said that they were 'pretty' or 'moderately' convincing. More than 20 percent replied 'hard to say.'"

Students as the censors:

There are hundreds of regulations. Some were permanent and others were in effect for a couple of months. To simplify the numbering scheme, I've created the numbers. They do not necessarily reflect the true order of numbers that were given to censors. I also combined a couple of rules when appropriate.

Reporting on Friends, the Soviet Bloc

Underlying assumption: not negative views of the Soviet Union

1. No personal attack should be permitted against heads of states (presidents, monarch) with which Poland maintains diplomatic relations. (Curry p. 113)
2. Any information on diplomatic steps or initiatives by countries of the socialist community (especially Poland and the Soviet Union) may appear only after appropriate official communiqués have been issued by PAP or TASS, and simultaneously with them. In no case may the publisher's own information precede the official news or conflict with its content.

Modulating Western News

3. Too positive or too extensive coverage of Western governments is unacceptable.
4. Neutral coverage (for example don't seem in favor of one candidate if there is a presidential race).

Below are excerpts from an article which was removed from *Slowo Powszechne* in 1975. It was based on one published in *U.S. News & World Report*. Why? What rules did it violate?

"…The President and his family are entitled to the use of a furnished residence, but he must cover certain living expenses. Food is one of these. Ford must reimburse the government for the cost of all food and beverages consumed by members of his family and private guests

"In the Ford home, as in many American homes, the wife is responsible for the family budget. It is said that Mrs. Ford is very strict about these matters. Working with Rex Scouten, she is constantly checking to see which expenses have to be paid by the President out of his own pocket and which can be paid for out of the White House budget. Mrs. Ford asked the household staff to be just as cost-conscious when doing White House shopping as when they are shopping for their own families.

"The annual White House budget appropriates $130,000 for official receptions. Of this sum, $55,000 are reimbursed in part by the State Department, for receptions arranged for foreign dignitaries, and in part by the Ford family, which pays for its own meals on such occasions. The other $75,000 goes for the entertainment of members of Congress, various public figures and so on…

"Inflation in the U.S. has made it necessary to cut down on such official functions. Mrs. Ford has reduced the number of official receptions. She has also announced that this year she will not entertain the wives of Congressmen with the traditional evening dinner but, instead, with a light brunch served in the White House garden.

"On the menus for official dinners, fish dishes have een replaced with soups, domestic wines are being served instead of foreign wines and vegetable dishes are selected from vegetables that happen to be in season." (*Report on Materials Censored*, July 16-31, 1975) (Curry pp 131-132)

The taboo subjects: it reported on the private life of a leader, it presented the Ford family in less than glamorous terms by showing their efforts to economize on hospitality, and it offered readers an opportunity to draw parallels with their own standards of living and to speculate about Polish leaders' life styles and how little they knew about them

The cost of living

5. Discussion of price hikes, comparing foreign stores to the rest of the population should be avoided.

Try and figure out what parts of the article were deleted. Remember they kept the majority of the article. What was considered inappropriate? What would you change to try and lighten the criticism?

In an article entitled "Light and Shadow in the Restaurant Industry," *Literatura*, No. 12

"…New profit margins for eating establishments were introduced as of February 1. The categories of existing facilities have also been changed. Category I restaurants have now become to expensive for the pockets of the average citizen. Category II facilities have also become too expensive for those who must eat dinner out. Category III and Category IV restaurants are within the range of the average person's possibilities. In popular language, they are referred to as 'dives.' This is an insulting expression and since customers call most of the popular restaurants in our country by that name, you can see that they do not have a very fond opinion of them. It would be worthwhile to think about restaurants and, in general, about what the restaurant industry is offering its patrons today, when any chance of eating a somewhat more expensive dinner under better circumstances is gone. Hence the average Polis condemned to school and worker cafeterias. What is that like? The song written after the war that began with the words 'Cafeteria, cafeteria, you are a dirty word' could be popular today, too…It is my firm belief that plant cafeterias should be run not only by professionals, but by the best professions. The proper meal can restore the strength that an individual has expended at work, can even increase his strength, and can help to give him a feeling of satisfaction about the hours he passes on the job. Why are popular taverns and restaurants for foreigner tourists considered to be proper matters for the attention of the food service industry, while school and plant cafeterias are not?

…There was once a plan to make a poultry restaurant in the main floor of Junior (Department store in Warsaw), where the You and I Café is. There was also a proposal to have a dining room in the Caucasus Restaurant, which is a nightspot and is unused during the day. Somehow all these projects fell through, even though carrying them out id not require any particular expenditures. It is clearly not a question of money. It is a question of conception—the conception of the development of the restaurant industry. I am in favor of an industry that first of all seeks to meet the needs of the citizen. At present, we have managed to create a deepening gulf between the best and the worst restaurants, providing some sort of opportunity for foreign tourists and our wealthiest citizens and practically none at all for Polish tourists or average mortals who need to eat dinner once a day."…

It was edited and the title changed to "Dinner Polish Style" – *Report on Materials Censored*, March 16-31, 1974. **The objectionable content**: the industry is bent on making profits and gives priority to foreign tourists, and based on the difference in quality it is a step-mother to ordinary citizens.

Edited version

"…New profit margins for eating establishments were introduced as of February 1. The categories of existing facilities have also been changed. Category I restaurants have now become to expensive for the pockets of the average citizen. Category II facilities have also become too expensive for those who must eat dinner out. Category III and Category IV restaurants are within the range of the average person's possibilities. ~~In popular language, they are referred to as 'dives.' This is an insulting expression and since customers call most of the popular restaurants in our country by that name, you can see that they do not have a very fond opinion of them. It would be worthwhile to think about restaurants and, in general, about what the restaurant industry is offering its patrons today, when any chance of eating a somewhat more expensive dinner under better circumstances is gone.~~ Hence the average Polis condemned to school and worker cafeterias. What is that like? The song written after the war that began with the words 'Cafeteria, cafeteria, you are a dirty word' ~~could be popular today, too~~…It is my firm belief that plant cafeterias should be run not only by professionals, but by the best professions. The proper meal can restore the strength that an individual has expended at work, can even increase his strength, and can help to give him a feeling of satisfaction about the hours he passes on the job. ~~Why are popular taverns and restaurants for foreigner tourists considered to be proper matters for the attention of the food service industry, while school and plant cafeterias are not?~~

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(Curry, pp. 173-175)

Crime:
Why would the following rules be needed? What do they imply?

6. Until the beginning of the trial of the arrested "Katowice vampire" no information on this subject should be permitted (See Informative Notes 6/74, 15/74, 16/74, 30/74 and 32/74) (Canceled 1975)

7. No information should be permitted concerning the murder o f an infant by its mother, a student at the Silesian Medical academy in Katowice. (Canceled Nov. 23, 1974)

8. No materials (information, references, etc.) should be permitted concerning the youth who lived in Nieglowo, Wolomin Powiat, at one time suspected of having caused crippling injury to an officer of the Citizens' Militia at the railroad station in Wyszokow and now charged with other criminal activity. (See Informative Note No. 29/74) (Sept. 5, 1974; canceled Nov. 23, 1974) [Soon after this was withdrawn, Andrzej K. Wroblewski, one of *Polityka's* leading writers, "forced through" a story challenging the accusation that the boy pushed a policeman under the train. This was allowed after much argument and appealing of the censors' initial rejection.]

The taboo subjects: it called into question the image that Poland was a land where violent crimes did not occur, it gave proof that certain individuals fell short of the socialist ideal, (in other words, all personal decisions should have been made with the interest of society in mind) and that rules should be obeyed without coercion. (Curry, p. 227-228)

Sports

9. In order to combat the tendency for our athletes to play on foreign teams, no material (statements, opinions, suggestions) by either athletes or journalists should be permitted on this subject. (August 15, 1974; canceled March 19, 1975)

Look at the article below from a student newspaper entitled "Everything for Sale" and determine which parts were deleted.

"…The prospect of legal emigration to join a foreign sports club—the mere mention of which would have sounded totally incredible until recently—presages the advent of a small revolution on the domestic sports scene. After all, in the past any such excursion was regarded with suspicion, as something morally ambiguous, something that should not be spread around. Instead of press reports, there were rumors, which in this case, were very often true.

"If we were to mention the names of all the Polish athletes who are now working abroad, it would be a rather long list. And there is nothing at all strange about this…

"It would be a highly amusing project to draw up a complete list of all the official explanations for emigration of some of our professional athletes and coaches. Zygmunt Hanusik, a cyclist, whom we have forgotten all too quickly, is living in France, where he is undergoing 'special training.' As for Lubanski, *Przeglad Sportowy* recently wrote that he left the country to play with the Lockeren Club, where he is doing his part to strengthen ties of friendship and cooperation between Poland and Belgium. No one has written anything about Joachim Marks, since there has not been enough time. On October 26 of this year Marks played against Italy at the Tenth Anniversary Stadium, and was unable to sneak anything past the Italian goalie, but just one week later he scored as many as three goals, this time for a French club, Lens.

"Nonetheless, I am amazed by the silence on the subject of the former Ruch (soccer team) player, since his emigration was in fact legal and had the official approval of the Polish Soccer Union. Marks is over 30 years old,

and the Polish Soccer Union adopted a resolution years ago according to which a soccer player may leave the country once he has turned 30…" (*Report on Materials Censored*, Dec. 1-15, 1975)

The edited version

"…~~The prospect of legal emigration to join a foreign sports club – the mere mention of which would have sounded totally incredible until recently – presages the advent of a small revolution on the domestic sports scene. After all, in the past any such excursion was regarded with suspicion, as something morally ambiguous, something that should not be spread around. Instead of press reports, there were rumors, which in this case, were very often true.~~

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(Curry, p. 233-234)

The objectionable content: the emigration of prominent figures to the West, particularly if it portrayed them as improving their lives, would set a bad example.

Another option to increasing the discussion of censorship would be to have students use these Polish guidelines to censor their own student newspaper or a local newspaper. Have them work in teams and justify their red marks to the class.

III. Statistical information on Poland in the 1970s

Oddly enough, this information came from Encarta 2001. I chose it because trying to find a nice selection of articles was impossible. I cut and pasted the articles here. If you want the students to do the searching themselves I began by searching under 'Gierek' and then moving on to the articles archive, on the lower right-hand side of the screen.

What you do with the research? Since I haven't done this yet, I anticipate having the students compile data over a stretch of time to try and explain how the situation was deteriorating in Poland. De Tocqueville said that revolution occurs not when things are at their worst but when there are rising expectations.

For example:
Under the Trade section they always list the import/export figures. Students could construct a graph in MS Excel showing how the spread increased significantly over the years.
They could contrast this with a timeline that denotes when raises or economic concessions were granted to the works.

They could compare 1970-1976 to 1977-1980 in terms of economic, political and/or social gains and losses. Recognizing the importance of the election of a Polish cardinal as the new Pope John Paul II cannot be ignored.

Link to student reading section

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Davies, Norm. Heart of Europe: a Short History of Poland. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Rosenberg, Tina. The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism. New York: Vintage Books, 1995

Before printing this document preview it and decide which parts to eliminate if you're going to photocopy this for your students, it is 19 pages long. For example, there are sections titled "Area" and "Government" in the year 1970 write-up. I eliminated it from the remaining years 1971-1979 because neither category said anything dramatically different. In 1980-81 however, there was a serious government shakeup. You could do the same with many of the categories: Education, Military, etc. It depends on what you want the students to produce. Also note that the Polish alphabet has a few different characters and some Polish names here have odd symbols in them when they were "romanized."

Gierek, Edward (1913-), Polish Communist Party leader from 1970 to 1980. Born in Bêdzin, near Katowice, he grew up in France, where, at the age of 13, he began to work in mines. He joined the French Communist Party in 1931 and, during World War II (1939-1945), fought the Germans with the Belgian Communist underground. Returning to Poland in 1948, he obtained a degree as a mining engineer in 1954 and rose through the Communist hierarchy to become party boss from 1957 to 1970 of Katowice, Poland's most important industrial region. When price increases led to riots among Polish workers in 1970, he replaced W'adys'aw Gomu'ka as first secretary of the Communist Party. However, economic problems continued: the foreign debt increased, import prices rose, and shortages worsened. When Gierek's government announced an increase in food prices in 1980, strikes broke out across Poland. Gierek was discredited, forced to step down, and expelled from the party in July 1981. Blamed for the economic crisis and Poland's foreign debt, which was more than $20 billion, Gierek was arrested in December 1981 and interned for a year.[1]

Archives consist of articles that originally appeared in Collier's Year Book (for events of 1997 and earlier) or as monthly updates in Encarta Yearbook (for events of 1998 and later). Because they were published shortly after events occurred, they reflect the information available at that time. Cross references refer to Archive articles of the same year.

1970: Poland

Politics and economics. What had been Poland's most important achievement this year—a treaty with West Germany—was overshadowed in mid-December by a near revolution of the working class when the government announced major price increases in food, fuel, and clothing. The resignation of W'adyslaw Gomu'ka, first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, resulted from the bloody rioting, during which a virtual state of emergency was declared and police were given authorization to shoot demonstrators.

Economic developments. Poland had been without significant economic reform throughout the 14 years of Gomu'ka's rule. None of the numerous versions of a new economic model proposed by Poland's prominent economists had progressed beyond the theoretical stage, even though some of the plans have been used successfully by other countries of the Soviet bloc.

The orthodox, centralized system of planning and management, which has led to periodic crises in the past, proved to be nearly disastrous this year. In the summer and fall the usually temporary shortages of meat became quasi-permanent, and other food products like sugar, butter, and coffee were also hard to find in the stores. In general the scarcity of all sorts of consumer goods reached hitherto unknown dimensions this year.

Poland's rulers finally agreed on a new economic model which was to become operative on January 1, 1971. The new plan proposed to give individual enterprises the opportunity to determine their own production plans. The new model was also intended to strike a balance between determination of production tasks at the enterprise level and predetermination of basic needs by the ruling elite. The economic leadership seemed to favor to a limited degree the "conscious" use of a free market mechanism (considered a "capitalist invention"), involving the use of price and financial controls to preserve market equilibrium.

Upheaval. Polish workers were angered by the new economic model's wage-incentive plan, fearing a loss of bonuses and overtime. At the very time shipyard workers in Gdañsk were engaged in heated negotiations over the new wage system, the government announced sharp price increases ten days before Christmas. Demonstrations by Gdañsk workers led to riots, looting, and arson, which spread to the

neighboring Baltic ports of Gdynia and Sopot. Clashes also took place in Warsaw. After three days of serious disorders, with over 20 dead and hundreds wounded, premier Józef Cyrankiewicz announced a virtual state of emergency, which lasted nearly a week.

As a result of the turmoil, Gomu'ka resigned "for reasons of health" and was replaced by 57-year-old Edward Gierek, Silesian party chief. Piotr Jaroszewicz became premier, replacing Józef Cyrankiewicz, who became president. Gierek, who favors close ties with the workers, stated that the price increases will remain in force, but there will be a freeze on price levels (with the exception of milk, eggs, and vegetables) for at least two years. Financial assistance will be granted to the lowest paid workers and to those with the largest families.

West German relations. After ten months of negotiations, Poland concluded a treaty with West Germany in November and ratified it on December 7. At the end of 1969, West Germany offered Poland $550 million in credit to buy West German equipment. The trade talks had to be suspended pending a political settlement, however, which could come only after the signing in August of the Soviet-German treaty, whereby the use of force to settle disputes was renounced and existing European frontiers (particularly the Oder-Neisse border) were recognized.

The final agreement between Poland and West Germany recognizes Poland's postwar acquisition of 40,000 square miles of prewar German territory, and a separate note deals with the controversial issue of the repatriation of Germans still living on former German territory. In reference to the postwar Polish border formed by the Oder and Neisse rivers, the existing border line as established at the 1945 Potsdam Conference was affirmed. The treaty also contains a declaration renouncing the use of force and a clause establishing normal diplomatic relations. It is an important achievement of West Germany's *Ostpolitik* policy.

Area and population. Area, 120,360 sq. mi. Pop. (1969), 32,671,000. Principal cities: Warsaw (cap.), 1,289,000; Lódz, 753,000; Kraków, 577,000.

Government. People's republic. Nominally highest government organ, the Sejm (Parliament), is elected every four years. Dominant political power is the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party. First secy., Edward Gierek; chmn., Council of State (in effect, president of the republic), Józef Cyrankiewicz; prime min., Piotr Jaroszewicz.

Finance. Monetary unit: zloty; 1 zloty = US$0.25 (tourist rate, 1 zloty = US$0.0417). Budget (1969): revenue, 357.6 billion zlotys; expenditure, 351 billion zlotys. Main sources of revenue: industry, agriculture, shipping. Main items of expenditure: education, welfare.

Trade. (1969). Imports, US$3.2 billion; exports, US$3.14 billion. Principal exports: coal, ships, meat, butter, machinery, and textiles. Principal imports: crude oil, iron ore, fertilizers, wheat, cotton. Major trading partners: Soviet Union (34.8 percent), East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain.

Agriculture and industry. Agricultural production (1969; in millions of metric tons): potatoes, 44.85; grains, 18.55; sugar beets, 12.12. Industrial production (1969; in millions of metric tons): coal, 165.9; brown coal, 30.9; coke, 16.2; cement, 11.8; crude steel, 11.2.

Armed forces. Army, 215,000; navy, 20,000; air force, 45,000; all integrated within the Warsaw Pact. Militarized security forces, 45,000.[3]

1971: Poland

Politics and economics. The new leadership of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party felt the effects of workers' power in 1971. The main events of the year were the outgrowth of the December 1970 upheavals in the Baltic ports of Gdañsk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, when workers' rioting over pre-Christmas price increases led to the dismissal of Communist Party first secretary W'adys'aw Gomu'ka. Poles generally welcomed the party's choice of Edward Gierek to succeed him. Gierek, a former coal miner, had a reputation for good sense and had been popular as party chief in the Katowice coal-steel basin. But from the beginning of the year, he had his own considerable problems with the economy.

Meeting workers' demands. Gierek began with concessions to the workers. On January 1, raises were announced for the lowest income brackets and pensioners at a cost to the state of $175 million, but the measure did not stop the widespread dissatisfaction over the December price increases, which had ranged from 10 to 30 percent. A series of strikes began in the Baltic ports in mid-January, then spread through the shipyards and outside their gates to the area's longshoremen and streetcar and bus workers. Strikers called for more pay, lower prices, and changes in the national leadership.

Soon provincial party leaders began to be dismissed, along with national figures like Ignacy Loga-Sowinski, chairman of the labor unions. Another grievance was settled with the publication of the names of the riot

dead of the previous month. Despite earlier announcements of much lower figures, it turned out to be 45 dead and 1,165 injured.

On January 24, Gierek visited the scene of the trouble and discussed the workers' complaints with them. He promised an additional $40 million in raises and said 2 million tons of grain were being shipped from the Soviet Union. There were more discussions and promises the next day.

Early in February, while the party's Central Committee was meeting to fix the blame for the December upheavals, new strikes broke out in the textile center of £ódŸ. The party suspended Gomu'ka, his chief aide Zenon Kliszko, and two others from the Central Committee. Then Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz hurried to £ódŸ to promise the textile workers, most of whom are women, 5 percent pay raises and safer working conditions. But the strikes continued.

On February 15, Radio Warsaw announced that the price increases of December 1970 had been nullified. As the party newspaper disclosed, the cost to the state would be another $275 million, but the move was made possible "thanks to the credit obtained ... from the Soviet Union."

The decision to rescind the price increases was a costly one, but it bought Gierek industrial peace at a time when continued strikes could have led to more clashes with the police, the possibility of widespread rioting, and Soviet intervention. With the workers quieted, he moved on other fronts to consolidate his position.

One consolidating move was Gierek's identification of his regime with Polish national feelings. He established a committee to plan the restoration of the Royal Castle in the Old City of Warsaw. The project will take a decade to complete and will cost $100 million. But as soon as it was announced, contributions began to come in from Poles at home and abroad. Gomu'ka had always opposed reconstruction of the castle because he considered it representative of the wrong kind of nationalism (not identified with Communism).

Church-state relations. Gierek's other main quest for support outside the party was directed at the Roman Catholic Church. The church was given title to the 4,700 Roman Catholic churches and 2,200 other church buildings that had been under government control since 1945 in the former German territories in the north and west of Poland. Before the solution of this long-standing dispute, the church had paid rent for the use of the former German property. Permission to build several new churches was also granted, although Catholic officials said that many more were needed. The most important development in church-state relations was the holding of talks for the first time between officials of a Polish Communist government and representatives of the Vatican. It was understood that such matters were discussed as the church's complaints of unfair treatment in taxation and restrictions on providing religious instruction.

Teachers. In October plans were finalized to give Poland's 400,000 teachers, including those in higher education, an average 40 percent raise over five years.

Farmers. Having dealt with the workers and the church, Gierek turned to the nation's farmers. Chronic food shortages were largely responsible for the price rises in 1970. The farmers, in turn, were unwilling to produce more as long as they felt their interests were being neglected by the state. The most important part of Gierek's farm plan is the removal of compulsory deliveries of produce to the state starting in 1972. This will make it possible for private farmers—who make up 86 percent of the nation's farmers—to earn more and, it is hoped, produce more.

Ousting of General Moczar. The upheavals of 1970-1971 also produced political infighting, and for a time it appeared that Gierek's main rival in the party, General Mieczyslaw Moczar, was gaining the upper hand. Moczar, the former interior minister, had strong backing in the army, the police, and the veterans' organization he headed. In April, Moczar was reported to have had a heart attack; at the same time, he lost his control over party military and security affairs. In June he was removed from the party's secretariat and given an unimportant government supervisory post. Moczar's demotion was a concession to the workers in the Baltic ports, who blamed him for the pitiless crushing of the demonstrators in the port cities and had long sought his removal.

Finance. Monetary unit: zloty; 1 zloty = US$0.25 (tourist rate, 1 zloty = US$0.0417). Budget (1971): revenue, US$9,485,000,000; expenditure, US$9,417,500,000. Main sources of revenue: industry, agriculture, shipping. Main items of expenditure: education, welfare.

Trade. (1970). Imports, US$3.6 billion; exports, US$3.5 billion. Principal exports: coal, meat and meat products, ships and boats, cotton fabrics. Principal imports: machinery and equipment, fuels, raw materials, agricultural products. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain.

Agriculture and industry. Agricultural production (1969; in millions of metric tons): potatoes, 44.9; rye, 8.2; wheat, 4.7; oats, 3.1. Industrial production (1970; in millions of metric tons): coal, 140; cement, 12.2; crude steel, 11.8; iron ore, 2.55. Natural gas (1970), 5.2 billion cubic meters.

Education (1969-1970). Enrollment: kindergartens, 512,000; elementary schools, 5,443,100; high schools, 309,700; vocational schools, 1,605,000; colleges and universities, 322,100. Teachers: elementary schools, 210,000; high schools, 15,300; vocational schools, 60,400; colleges and universities, 30,000.[4]

1972: Poland

Poland's relations with the United States and West Germany, countries from which it has long been estranged, underwent substantial improvements during the year. Within two weeks in May, the West German parliament ratified the nonaggression treaty with Poland, and Richard M. Nixon became the first U.S. president in office to visit the country.

These developments in foreign relations overshadowed a domestically busy year in which Poland elected a new parliament, chose Henryk Jabloń ski to replace Józef Cyrankiewicz in the ceremonial post of president of the Council of State, belatedly adopted a five-year economic plan, eliminated many travel restrictions to and from East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and announced a plan to reorganize the countryside into self-governing districts.

The treaty with West Germany. As Polish commentators noted after West Germany's Parliament narrowly approved the nonaggression treaty, May 17 marked the first time since the end of World War II that Poland felt secure within its borders. At the end of the war Poland was given 40,000 square miles of former German territory east of the Oder and Neisse rivers and in former East Prussia and Danzig. Ratification of the nonaggression treaty this year meant that West Germany relinquished its claim on these areas, which were formally under temporary Polish and Soviet administration since 1945, pending conclusion of a World War II peace treaty.

The restoration of normal relations with West Germany signified more than territorial security to the Poles. In the first half of this year German exports to Poland rose by 70 percent and Polish exports to West Germany by 40 percent. Last year's trade statistics reflected a similar rise. Both figures were the result of trade agreements made possible by the treaty. An example of new business ties was an 18-month contract for a West German firm to build in Poland two automated meat processing plants at a cost of $52 million. Polish officials hope that many more deals will now be possible, because the nation's industry could benefit greatly from the more advanced German technology.

The Nixon visit. Economics also played an important part in the talks between President Nixon and Edward Gierek, leader of the Polish Communist Party, during Nixon's visit on May 31 and June 1. The two countries agreed to establish a joint commission to expand trade. Poland expressed interest in increasing its purchases of capital goods and licenses to produce capital goods, as well as in obtaining technological assistance in the United States and in negotiating an air transport agreement.

A more dramatic expression of good relations between the Polish and American people, however, was the warm reception given Nixon. Although Polish authorities attempted to play down his visit because they did not want to offend the Soviet Union, crowds estimated at 300,000 turned out to greet him. Although teachers and Communist Party members were reported to have been told to try to keep the crowds small, thousands of Warsaw citizens had waited since dawn to greet Nixon.

Domestic politics and the economy. Parliamentary elections were the first test of the popularity of the new regime, installed after the rioting in December 1970. Although 97.9 percent of the voters backed the approved candidates, there were more cases than usual of unpopular politicians' names being crossed off ballots. Cyrankiewicz's replacement as head of state marked the end of his political career. As prime minister for many years, he had been blamed for the events leading to the rioting. The 1970 upheaval was also responsible for the 17-month delay in adopting the five-year plan. When parliament finally passed it in June of this year, it contained revisions designed to improve living standards—higher wages, lower prices, and a system of incentives.

The liberalization of travel rules made it possible for Poles to travel to neighboring East Germany and Czechoslovakia without visas for the first time since Communist rule began. In the first six weeks of the new system, 320,000 Poles went to East Germany and 400,000 East Germans visited Poland. But Polish citizens of German background hoping to emigrate to West Germany under the new nonaggression treaty ran into difficulty. Since West Germany and Poland cannot agree on how large this group is, emigration, which had been averaging 3,000 people a month, was slowed to a trickle after about 25,000 persons had left Poland.

A radical plan for administrative reform was announced at the meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee in late September. Scheduled to go into effect on January 1, 1973, the plan divides the country into 2,300 *gminas*, or districts, headed by appointed *naczelni*, or executives. The *naczelni* will work with the district council, which will collect local taxes and designate expenditures. The plan for decentralization grants a large measure of local

autonomy and represents a major step by Gierek in his attempt to modernize the economy.

Church and state. The conflict between the regime and the powerful Roman Catholic Church continued. The church charged that the government was not doing enough in permitting the construction of new churches, alleviating taxation for the church, and fighting pornography. An important step was taken by the Vatican this year in recognizing the bishoprics in the Oder-Neisse territory as Polish rather than German. It was a measure that was welcomed by both the church and the government. Pope Paul VI had waited until West Germany's ratification of the treaty with Poland before naming Polish bishops for the area. There was actually no change in personnel; Polish prelates had headed the bishoprics since the end of World War II but had been called apostolic administrators.

Finance. Monetary unit, zloty; 1 zloty = US$0.475. Budget (1971): revenue, US$9.5 billion; expenditure, US$9.4 billion. Main sources of revenue: industry, agriculture, shipping. Main items of expenditure: education, welfare.

Trade. (1971). Imports, US$2.7 billion; exports, US$2.8 billion. Principal exports: coal, meat and meat products, ships and boats, cotton fabrics. Principal imports: machinery and equipment, fuels, raw materials, agricultural products. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Great Britain.

Education. Schooling is compulsory from the 7th to the 17th year. Enrollment (1970): kindergarten, 512,000; elementary school, 5,443,100; high school, 309,700; vocational school, 1,605,000; college and university, 322,100.[5]

1973: Poland

"Building a second Poland" was the way Poland's Communist Party leader, Edward Gierek, described his program to double the country's economic capacity by 1990. In 1973, the third year after the labor unrest and rioting that brought Gierek to power, Poland seemed off to a good start. National income in the first half of the year was up 9.5 percent, the same rate as in 1972, and government planners thought it would now be possible to raise the target.

This year the world joined Poland in observing the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus, the astronomer who was the first to theorize in systematic fashion that the earth and other planets moved around the sun. Scientists from many nations took part in conferences in honor of Copernicus, and in April the Soviet Union and Poland launched a commemorative satellite to measure solar radiation and the ionosphere.

Foreign affairs. Poland was one of the members of the 1,160-man international commission set up in January to supervise the Vietnam truce. Stanis³aw Trepczyñski completed his term as president of the United Nations General Assembly, and Manfred Lachs was named president of the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

Gierek's policy is that for Poland economic prosperity depends upon improved technology and trade with the West. This year Poland continued to improve relations with the West and to strengthen business ties. In November 1972 a U.S. technical and trade information center, the first in Eastern Europe, was opened in Warsaw. This year the Chase Manhattan Bank and the U.S. Import-Export Bank agreed to lend Poland nearly $4 million for construction of a steel rolling mill with a capacity of 50,000 metric tons a year. There were other agreements with the International Harvester Company of the United States and with French, Italian, British, and West German companies to reequip Polish factories or build new ones.

The economy. Most of Poland's economic progress resulted from increased productivity by Polish workers and farmers, who were continuing to respond to the price freeze and higher wages Gierek ordered after he took power at the end of 1970. For the farmers, the incentives included further promises that the nation's agriculture, still about 85 percent in private hands, would remain uncollectivized and that free state health care would be extended to private farm families. Purchase prices for meat and milk were raised, and the compulsory deliveries that the state once demanded were stopped. As a result, agricultural production rose by 8 percent in 1973, the same figure as in 1972. Production of meat was up 20 percent, and butter was up 26 percent.

The workers, who had brought down the old government of W³adys³aw Gomu³ka and forced the new regime to pay more attention to consumer needs, also benefited. The combination of a subsidized price freeze and wage hikes meant that real wages increased by an annual 6 percent from 1971 through 1973-the best growth rate in a decade.

The combined achievements of agriculture and industry have put Poland in the unaccustomed position of leadership in the Soviet bloc in a number of indexes, including investment, retail sales, and progress toward fulfillment of the current five year plan.

But many economic problems remain. The price freeze is costly to the government, which must make up the difference that the consumer saves. There has been a

slowdown, almost to a stop, of Gierek's program of according workers greater participation in management.

Censorship. The new regime's conciliatory policy toward farmers and industrial workers has been accompanied by some cautious steps toward relaxing controls over Polish intellectual life. *Forefathers,* a play by the 19th century poet Adam Mickiewicz, banned in the last years of Gomu³ka's regime because of its anti-Russian content, has returned to the stage. Direct censorship of the two leading party organs, the daily *Trybuna Ludu* and the weekly *Polityka,* was quietly removed, and now it is up to the editors to determine what their readers may read. *Polityka,* in particular, has been outspoken in criticizing mismanagement in industry. Gierek himself welcomes criticism from citizens and often calls for, and gets, open questions at public meetings.

Church and state. Relations between the regime and the Roman Catholic Church, which claims the allegiance of nine out of ten Poles, continued on their unsettled course; both sides charged bad faith in keeping the agreements that were concluded when Gierek took power. The Vatican named as Poland's third cardinal Archbishop Boles³aw Kominek of Wroc³aw, the former German city of Breslau. His designation was further recognition by the Vatican that the Oder-Neisse territories, which Germany lost at the end of World War II, were permanently Polish. But church and state clashed over a new education bill presented in the Sejm. The regime pointedly ignored the church's traditional role in education, and the Polish bishops charged that the new bill was "based on atheistic principles, with full elimination of the church." They complained that church proposals for religious education—now confined to after school hours in church buildings—had been ignored, and that "hostile" elements had been introduced.

Relations took a turn for the better when Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski had an audience with Pope Paul VI, the first representative of Communist Poland to do so.

Disaster. The interior ministers of Poland and Czechoslovakia, Wies³aw Ociepka and Radko Kaska, were killed along with 13 others in the crash of a Polish Air Force transport near the Baltic port of Szczecin. Stanis³aw Kowalczyk, a high-ranking party secretary, was named to replace Ociepka.

Finance. Monetary unit, z³oty; 1 z³oty = US$0.0525. Budget (1972): revenue, 439.5 billion z³otys; expenditure: 432.6 billion z³otys.

Trade. (1972). Imports, US$5.34 billion; exports, US$4.93 billion. Principal exports: coal, ships and other means of transport, machinery and equipment. Principal imports: machinery and equipment, fuels, raw materials, agricultural products. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Great Britain.

Education. Enrollment (1972): kindergarten, 818,000; elementary school, 4,978,000; high school, 609,000; vocational school, 1,830,000; college and university, 361,000.

Armed forces (est. 1972). Army, 200,000; navy, 19,000; air force, 55,000; security and border forces, 73,000.[6]

1975: Poland

As a by-product of U.S.-Soviet détente, there has been a major improvement in Poland's relations with the United States, coinciding with Polish government efforts to expand and streamline the economy.

Economy. The industrial sector accounted for more than 50 percent of the national income this year, compared to 29 percent in 1947, and the government reported that there had been an annual growth rate of about 10 percent between 1970 and 1974, the period of leadership by Party First Secretary Edward Gierek. Per capita national income reached the equivalent of $1,200—modest enough by Western standards but five times that of the 1950's.

Since 1971 there has been heavy capital investment (increasing at about 20 percent annually) in plants and port facilities. Port North in Gdañsk, when completed, will be the largest port on the Baltic. Construction of the port's coal-loading facilities was finished in 1974, and the liquid-fuel terminal began operation this year. Other investment programs were designed to modernize coal and steel production, the mainstay of the Polish economy. The fully automated Pniowiek coal mine was opened, and in Katowice construction began on a smelter that was to be one of the most technologically sophisticated facilities of its kind in the world.

Foreign relations. U.S. President Gerald Ford drew a warm reception during his brief state visit to Poland in late July. In Warsaw, Gierek and Ford met privately for two hours and made a joint declaration affirming their commitment to détente. Traveling to Auschwitz, Ford laid a wreath at the former Nazi extermination camp, and he also visited nearby Kraków.

The United States, although accounting for less than 5 percent of Poland's exports and imports, was the

country's principal trading partner outside Europe, and there were signs that economic as well as political relations were improving. Polish and U.S. engineers began to exchange information on coal extraction, gasification, liquefaction, and carbochemicals. The first U.S. bank branch was opened in Warsaw by the First National Bank of Chicago. A delegation from 12 leading U.S. industrial firms visited in April. In October the United States resumed grain shipments to Poland after a temporary suspension in the summer, when it was feared such sales would raise U.S. food prices to an unacceptable level.

In September, General Motors disclosed it was negotiating with Poland to assist in the construction of a plant in Lublin to make GM trucks. Other U.S. firms, aware that Polish labor is relatively cheap and that Poland has good railroads, well-developed ports, plentiful coal energy, and the technological capacity to produce high-quality goods, were reportedly contemplating major operations. Accelerated U.S. investment would bring access to advanced technology and increased hard currency from exports, which would be expected to expand considerably as investment grows.

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing paid a visit to Poland in June, signing agreements for cultural, scientific, and economic cooperation. On August 1 in an accord concluded with West Germany during the European security conference in Helsinki, Poland agreed to grant about 125,000 visas over the next few years to ethnic Germans who wish to emigrate.

Church-state relations. Discussions between the Polish Roman Catholic Church, the government, and representatives of the Vatican continued throughout the year; in the government's view, relations were improving. The talks centered on the government's reluctance to issue permits for construction of churches, on its hitherto close inspection of religious instruction, and on its policy of taxing church property.

Other developments. On May 28 the Sejm approved legislation providing for administrative reform. The three-tier local government structure consisting of voivodships (provinces), counties, and communes was reorganized into a two-tier system of voivodships and communes. In addition, under the reform, 17 large voivodships were replaced by 49 smaller voivodships, including the autonomous cities of Warsaw, Kraków, and £ódŸ. Some observers regarded the reforms as contributing to a greater centralization of power.

In social legislation, an alimony fund was established to pay spouses whose divorced mates evade such payments. The government also instituted a tax on personal property exceeding 700,000 z³otys in value that was acquired since 1954.

Finance. Monetary unit, z³oty; 1 z³oty = $0.0525. Budget (1973): expenditures, US$24.07 billion; revenue, US$24.21 billion.

Trade. (1973): Exports, US$10.66 billion; imports, US$13.05 billion. Principal exports: electrical engineering, food, chemicals, metallurgy, fuel and power. Principal imports: electrical engineering, chemicals, metallurgy. Principal trading partners: Soviet Union, West Germany, East Germany, Czechoslovakia.

Agriculture and industry. Principal agricultural products: ham and bacon, brewer's barley. Industrial production (1973, in millions of tons): iron ore, 1.4; pig iron, 8.1; crude steel, 14.05; rolled products, 9.8; coal, 157; lignite, 39.2.

Education (1973-1974). Enrollment: primary schools, 4,778,600; vocational schools, 1,922,000; colleges, polytechnical schools, and universities, 89,394,300.[7]

1974: Poland

The 30th anniversary of the Communist Party takeover in Poland was marked by a military parade and aerial maneuvers, an extended visit from Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev, and steadfast efforts on the part of the current regime to convince the people that they were enjoying a better life. Poland's Communist Party leader, Edward Gierek, could at least claim progress on the economic front since he first came to power in December 1970. But tension between church and state remained a major domestic problem in this largely Roman Catholic country.

Economy. Official statistics released early this year indicated that 1973 had been a rather good year for the economy. Foreign trade grew by more than 25 percent, agricultural production rose 7.8 percent, and industrial production increased by about 12 percent. Indications for the first few months of 1974 were also encouraging. But the trade deficit with the West was continuing to grow, and workers' wages were rising faster than provided for in government plans.

Inflation has become a particular embarrassment for the Gierek regime, which was brought into power on a wave of popular discontent over price increases enacted by the previous administration. But Gierek himself managed to raise prices without protest in a number of instances, partly because he paved the way for the increases through media publicity campaigns.

The government's second five-year housing plan called for construction of up to 1.7 million apartment units from 1976 to 1980-a 50 percent increase over the previous rate. The ultimate goal was to build 7 million units by 1991 in order to ease Poland's critical housing shortage. Meanwhile, the typical Warsaw couple was waiting eight years for apartment accommodations.

This summer a new law went into effect increasing old-age benefits and other incentives for farmers who agree to hand over their land to the state. The law also reduces limitations on the size of a farm that the government is willing to take. From 1969 to 1973 the government took over a total of 824,000 acres of farmland in return for pensions and other benefits.

Earlier in the year the Ministry of Transportation proposed plans for a $15 billion highway construction project. U.S. engineers assisted in the preparation of the plans. Completion of the 2,000 miles of new superhighway would provide a much needed boost to Poland's antiquated transportation system, which has taken the blame for failures in meeting industrial production schedules and for Poland's large industrial stockpiles, which rose substantially in 1973.

Foreign relations. Economic efforts led directly to improved relations with the United States. The energy shortage also helped. Polish-American trade had already more than doubled in 1973, to $532 million, and much of the increase was the result of U.S. imports of Polish coal. The New England states alone placed orders for 600,000 tons of low-sulfur coal for 1974.

Jan Mitrega, deputy premier and minister of mining and power, visited Washington, D.C., in May to discuss further cooperation, impart information on coal-mining techniques, and receive advice on offshore oil-drilling procedures.

Gierek himself visited the United States in October and met with President Gerald Ford. The two heads of state signed statements of principles on economic cooperation and "friendly relations" between their countries, and seven other agreements on economic and technical cooperation were signed by cabinet-level officials. After leaving Washington, D.C., Gierek visited New York, Pittsburgh, and Houston.

Church-state relations. Stefan Cardinal Wyszyñski, the Roman Catholic primate of Poland, drew attention to still unresolved conflicts with the Gierek regime by holding Easter services at a barracks that had served as a temporary church for 20 years. The cardinal seeks permission to build more churches; the government has been slow to grant permits, particularly in the new suburbs that have grown up around major cities and industrial sites.

Negotiations with the Vatican continued, and Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, a top papal diplomat, was received in Poland for the first time as a guest of the government. But a key change in the regime's negotiating team seemed to point to trouble. Aleksander Sharzyñski, head of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, was replaced by Kazimierz Kákal, who has a reputation for confrontation rather than for conciliation.

Other developments. The rebuilding of Warsaw Castle, all but destroyed in World War II, proceeded on schedule, with the main structural part completed during the year. Americans of Polish descent have contributed nearly $500,000 to the project, which is to be finished in 1978.

During an 11-day Baltic cruise on the liner *Stefan Batory*, more than 80 Poles defected at one of three Western ports of call. It was the largest such escape since travel restrictions were relaxed to permit more visits to the West.

Finance. Monetary unit, z³oty; 1 z³oty = US$0.0525. Budget (1972): revenue, 439.5 billion z³otys; expenditures, 432.6 billion z³otys.

Trade. (1973). Imports, US$7.9 billion; exports, US$6.4 billion. Principal exports: coal, ships and other transport vehicles, machinery and equipment. Principal imports: machinery and equipment, fuels, raw materials, agricultural products. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Great Britain.

Education. Enrollment (1972): elementary, 5,186,500; secondary, 578,300; technical, art, and vocational, 1,753,100; higher education, 347,800.[8]

1976: Poland

Food riots. For the third time in 20 years Polish workers took to the streets with strikes and violence to force their Communist government to rescind unpopular measures. The upheaval this June, caused by increases in food prices ranging from 30 to 100 percent, left two dead and scores injured, by official count, but it stopped short of toppling the government, as the 1956 and 1970 food rioting had done. The workers did win a speedy return to lower prices, although they were warned that future increases were inevitable. And they had the satisfaction of knowing that their protests were making the government more responsive.

The rioting in Warsaw and the nearby industrial city of

Radom, where the Communist Party headquarters was burned, showed both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist Party leader Edward Gierek, who had himself been brought to power by the 1970 protests. Inflation and the need to import food from the West made this year's increases necessary, but the government failed to prepare the people for them. Hungary's Communist government had no trouble with similar price increases, introduced after careful preparation. However, Gierek showed restraint and realism in dealing with the trouble, once it had started, and the official toll was but a fraction of the hundreds killed in the 1970 rioting. The decision to roll back the prices was accompanied by a program of broad public discussion of the whole food problem. In addition, the government singled out only a few rioters for severe punishment; 13 were given prison terms of up to ten years.

Other domestic developments. A milder form of protest by intellectuals and the powerful Roman Catholic Church forced the government to water down some proposed amendments to the Polish constitution. The amendments had been aimed at strengthening the Communist Party, in part by changing Poland to a "socialist republic," the designation for most of its Communist neighbor states. As a result of the protests Poland remains a "people's republic," with the Communist Party playing a central but not exclusive role. Another draft amendment that made it a crime to use religion for political ends was eliminated. One leader of the protest movement, the liberal Catholic Stanislaw Stomma, was dropped from the candidate lists for the March parliamentary election. But another member of Stomma's small Catholic ZNAK party, Konstanty Lubienski, was named to the Council of State, a ceremonial body, as his group's first representative.

To no one's surprise the party-approved candidates all won their seats in the March elections, with a voter turnout of 98.27 percent. But nearly three times as many blank protest ballots were cast this year as in 1972—about 15,000, compared with about 5,000.

Foreign relations. If the Polish leadership had an excess of trouble at home, it could take heart from successes abroad.

One aftereffect of last year's improvement in relations with the United States was a steadily increasing bilateral trade. Polish officials estimated it would pass the billion dollar mark by the time the final 1976 figures were totaled.

Gierek's most successful venture in foreign affairs was his June visit to West Germany, the first by a Polish leader since World War II. The two nations concluded a cultural agreement and numerous pacts broadening economic cooperation. One of the major pacts provided for a joint venture in coal gasification, in which a consortium of West German banks will provide more than US$1 billion to exploit Poland's coal resources. The cultural agreement contained a reference to "human problems" that implied Poland would relax its restrictions on the immigration to West Germany of Polish citizens of German origin or with German family members. A 1975 Polish—West German accord had called for the emigration of 125,000 Polish citizens over four years, and this March the Polish government had approved a West German Foreign Ministry note expressing a desire to increase the number of immigrants and stretch out the time period. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt called Gierek's June visit a major step toward normalizing relations. Gierek was more cautious; despite the economic gains, he said, many controversial issues had not even been brought up for discussion. But he invited Chancellor Schmidt to visit Poland to continue the dialogue.

Finance. Monetary unit, z'oty; 1 z'oty = US$0.0525. Budget (est. 1976): 800 billion z'otys.

Trade. (1975). Imports, US$12.9 billion; exports, US$10.28 billion. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, Czechoslovakia.

Education. Enrollment (1975): primary schools, 4,447,500; high schools, 622,000; vocational schools, 2,060,500; higher education, 347,800.

Armed forces (est. 1975). Army, 210,000; navy, 25,000; air force, 58,000; security and border forces, 80,000.[9]

1977: Poland

Poland felt the effects of a growing dissident movement during the year, with a number of incidents developing in the wake of the food price rioting of June 1976. The economic picture did not offer much encouragement for domestic tranquillity in the near future; widening payments deficits and a bad drought were major problems.

Economic background. The trade deficit grew by 25 percent, to nearly $3 billion, during 1976. Although exports increased by 7.5 percent, imports outpaced them, increasing 10.8 percent. Drought conditions were a setback to the nation's predominantly private farms and meant that more grain than usual had to be bought from the West. There was also a vast shortage of meat this year.

Economic problems had brought Communist Party chief Edward Gierek to power in the first place in

1970, after an earlier round of price rioting; he accordingly adopted a more conciliatory policy toward workers and sought to promote a higher standard of living. But his policies led to higher imports of Western grain and consumer goods, as well as of machinery to modernize industry. Although living standards since 1971 improved about 40 percent, the cost to the government was high. Last June's riots had been sparked by government plans to increase food prices by as much as 70 percent, to account for inflation and cut imports. The riots, in turn, served to heighten tensions between the government and increasingly vocal dissidents.

Dissident movement. The dissident movement gathered increased force this January, when 172 writers, actors, artists, and intellectuals appealed to the Sejm, the Polish national legislature, to investigate alleged instances of police brutality against workers arrested in the previous summer's rioting. The prosecutor-general dismissed the allegations as baseless. But instead of cracking down on the dissidents, as some other Communist countries had been doing, the government responded with concessions, so as not to create "martyrs" and stir increased tensions and dissent.

For the future, the government resolved to reduce the percentage of the national income allocated to industrial investment and use the released funds to promote price stability. It was said that 12 percent of this year's national income—about $4 billion—would be allocated to this end.

Meanwhile, on February 3, Gierek pardoned any worker who had been imprisoned during the riots and said that no action would be taken against the Workers' Defense Committee—a group initially set up to help the families of those jailed. The following day, the Council of State granted official amnesty for all those sentenced in connection with the riots, provided that they showed remorse.

The pardon was hailed by the WDC as a "great social victory" for the dissidents. Encouraged by the government's apparent willingness to meet protesting citizens halfway, a new citizens' group was formed this year, entitled the Movement for the Defense of the Human and Civil Rights of Man. The group said it would go beyond the scope of the WDC to fight for freedom of expression for all political groups.

On March 3 the Polish Council of Ministers officially ratified the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. But it was already understood, from previous government statements, that the basic-rights and civil-liberties articles were to be interpreted with some reservations; and in fact, the Polish government came into increasing friction with dissidents during the spring. In May, Stanislaw Pyjas, a Kraków University student who had been active in the WDC, was found dead at the bottom of a stairwell. The cause of death was head injuries, and the WDC immediately charged that he had been murdered. Authorities in Kraków, for their part, contended that Pyjas had fallen while drunk. Some 2,000 students and sympathizers attended a memorial Mass for Pyjas on May 15, and that night, 5,000 people marched in silent protest to the place where he had died.

The regime denounced the marchers and arrested several WDC members on charges of antistate activity. In response, the WDC demanded that its members be released, and 17 prominent Polish writers and artists wrote a letter to the prosecutor-general defending the protest activity. This letter and other protests from abroad, including those of some Communist leaders in the West, presumably helped win the freedom on June 8 of Jan Josef Lipski, a writer and veteran of the resistance in World War II, who had been detained on May 19. In late July, the charges against Lipski were formally dropped and all jailed WDC members were released.

New church. Nowa Ruda, the steel mill city on the outskirts of Kraków, consecrated a new church before a congregation of 50,000, most of them workers' families. The town was built without a church in 1950, but its 170,000 residents had long pressed for permission to build one. In 1953 a barracks church was permitted, and 16 years later the cornerstone for a permanent edifice was laid. Volunteer workers from Germany, Austria, and other countries helped in the eight-year building effort, financed in large part by Americans of Polish descent.

Carter visit. In late September the White House announced that President Jimmy Carter planned to visit Poland during his four-continent tour. The subsequent postponement of the tour disappointed Polish officials, who had hoped to discuss easier terms for grain purchases.

Finance. Monetary unit, z³oty; 1 z³oty = US$0.0525. Budget (est. 1976): 800 billion z³otys.

Trade. (1976). Imports, $13.9 billion; exports, $11 billion. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, Czechoslovakia.

Education. Enrollment (1975-1976): primary schools, 4,447,500; secondary schools, 622,000; vocational schools, 2,060,500; higher education, 464,900.

Armed forces (est. 1977). Army, 220,000; navy, 25,000; air force, 62,000; paramilitary forces, 92,000.[10]

1978: Poland

Government and politics. Pushed by demands for reform at home and encouraged by a promise of more U.S. aid, Poland adopted a number of changes designed to raise the standard of living. Communist Party leader Edward Gierek, who was brought to power in 1970 by one wave of riots over food prices and who survived another wave in 1976, played a strong personal role in the reforms.

Gierek ordered the reforms less than a month after President Jimmy Carter's December 1977 visit. Although there appeared to be no direct connection, Carter had agreed to grant Poland $200 million in agricultural credits as an outgrowth of his visit.

The government had made sure that there were ample supplies of meat and other foodstuffs in the stores for Christmas 1977, but a group of 14 Communist officials, including former president Edward Ochab, presented Gierek with a demand for a clear-cut program of reform that would be more than a piecemeal response to crises.

Shortly thereafter, in an address to a party conference in January, Gierek announced his reforms: further government subsidies to raise the standard of living, an increase of about 10 percent in the minimum wage (to $100 per month), and the provision of more feed grains and fertilizers to farmers. Economists said that as much as one-third of the national budget would now be set aside for subsidies on consumer goods. The wage increases were far above the 1 percent guidelines set for the next three years, but such costly measures were apparently considered a fair price to pay for domestic tranquility.

Carter visit. President Carter made Poland the first stop of his six-nation tour, and he did not draw back from the human rights issue while on Communist soil. In his talks and public appearances, he appealed for more universal recognition of human rights. Despite Poland's problems with dissidents, he had praise for Gierek's human rights record in general. He said that Poland and the United States agree on aspirations for human rights but conceded that both nations, and the Soviet Union as well, were occasionally made uncomfortable by public discussion of their failure to guarantee such rights.

First Lady Rosalynn Carter and the president's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, met with the Polish primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and the president expressed his appreciation of the degree of religious freedom permitted in Poland. The position of the church as a principal seat of opposition to the regime was demonstrated when dissidents used a Warsaw church for a protest vigil to call the Carter party's attention to the detention of the two sons of Ryszard Switon, one of the founders of the Polish Movement for Defense of Human and Civil Rights.

An attempt by dissident journalists to attend the Carter news conference was thwarted, but the president said he would answer their questions in writing.

Steven Seymour, a part-time interpreter for the State Department, was replaced on orders of embarrassed presidential aides, after mistranslating Carter's arrival statement into Polish. He rendered the president's reference to the Polish people's desires as their "lusts" and had Carter saying that he "abandoned," rather than "left," the United States. Seymour attributed his errors to the lack of an advance text and kept his job, but as an interpreter of Russian only.

Foreign affairs. A Jewish museum was opened on the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Gideon Hausner, a member of the Israeli Parliament who had been the prosecutor at the trial of Adolf Eichmann for war crimes, took part in the opening ceremonies and said that the event might be a breakthrough toward development of normal relations between Israel and Poland.

Miroslaw Hermaszewski, a Polish astronaut, became the second person not of Soviet or U.S. nationality to go into space. As did his predecessor, Czechoslovakia's Vladimir Remek, he went into orbit with a Soviet cosmonaut.

Poland twice defended its new coastal fishing zone against West German fishermen, taking in their boats for crossing the Baltic demarcation line. The Germans and other Baltic nations protested that the new limits are still too vague and include an indeterminate "gray" zone.

Domestic affairs. The Polish Writers' Union defied the government and elected four dissidents, including the editor of an underground journal, to its 25-member governing board. But the Polish underground university—a dissident organization that meets in professors' homes for frank discussions of topics forbidden in the classroom—was harassed by police raids and arrests.

On August 30 a Polish airliner carrying 63 passengers and a crew of eight on a flight to East Berlin was hijacked by an armed man and forced to land at a U.S. air base in West Berlin. After the plane landed, seven East German passengers asked for asylum, one of whom subsequently decided to return to East Germany. The hijacker, along with a woman companion and a small child, was taken into custody by U.S. authorities. Legal action was pending.

John Paul II. The Polish people welcomed the election this October 16 of Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, archbishop of Kraków, as the 264th pope of the Roman Catholic Church. Wojtyla, who took the name John Paul II, was the first Polish pontiff in the history of the Church. The government, apparently recognizing the strength of religious feeling in overwhelmingly Catholic Poland, officially expressed "great satisfaction" at Wojtyla's selection, sent President Henryk Jab³oñski to the installation ceremony at the Vatican on October 22, issued special visas and offered special flights for Polish citizens wishing to make the trip, and broadcast the ceremony live on national television. Poland's minister of religious affairs, Kazimierz K¹kol, said Wojtyla's selection "can lead to cooperation between . . . Marxism and Catholicism." (*See also* RELIGION: Roman Catholic Church.)

Finance. Monetary unit, z³oty; 1 z³oty = US$0.0525. Budget (1976, in billions of z³otys): revenue, 884.1; expenditures, 740.1.

Trade. (1976). Exports, $1.92 billion; imports, $2.42 billion. Major trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, Czechoslovakia.

Education. Enrollment (1975-1976): primary schools, 4,447,500; secondary schools, 622,000; vocational schools, 2,060,500; higher education, 464,900.[11]

1979: Poland

Papal visit. Pope John Paul II, the first Polish pope, became the first pope to visit a Communist country when he arrived in Poland on June 2 for a stay of nine days. The tumultuous, enthusiastic receptions accorded him throughout the country proved that despite 34 years of Communist rule, religious feeling is still intense among the Polish people, more than 90 percent of whom are Roman Catholic.

In John Paul's Christmas 1978 message to his former archdiocese in Krak¢ó—which was read from the pulpit but was not published because of government censorship—the pope had expressed the wish to visit Poland to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the death of Poland's patron saint, Stanislaus, who had been executed for opposing the king. The saint, said John Paul, was "an advocate of the most essential human rights" and someone who "did not hesitate to confront the ruler when defense of the moral order called for it." Fearing that a visit by the pope on the precise date of the anniversary might prove politically inflammatory, the Polish government insisted on a month's postponement. Nevertheless, the anniversary remained the formal cause for the visit.

John Paul's trip was organized around four main stops: Warsaw, Kraków, Gniezno, and Czestochowa. Directly after visiting his hometown, Wadowice, he gave one of his most moving sermons at the site of the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camps, where the Nazis had exterminated as many as 5 million people. There, he said, it was "necessary to think with fear of how far hatred can go, how far man's destruction of man can go, how far cruelty can go."

To the relief of the government, no confrontations with police or other violence resulted from the combination of crowds that totaled in the millions, a heat wave, and the strong emotions aroused by the pope. Steps taken to lessen the possibility of disturbances had included a four-day ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages.

However, the pope did present outspoken challenges to the Communist regime on the subjects of human rights and political and religious freedom. Shortly after his arrival in Poland, at a meeting in Warsaw, the pope told party leader Edward Gierek that a nation must be guaranteed "the right to existence, to freedom ... and also to the formation of its own culture," a theme he was to repeat over and over during his stay.

In one of his most significant addresses, to the conference of Polish bishops at the Jasna Góra monastery, he challenged the government to "respect the convictions of believers, ensure all the rights of citizens and also the normal conditions for the activity of the Church as a religious community to which the vast majority of Poles belong." At Gniezno, Poland's ancient Christian capital, he made it clear that he considered it his duty as a Slavic pope to extend the hand of Christianity from the West to all Slavic peoples, suggesting that the Church under his leadership would take a far more active interest in Eastern Europe than previously. Whatever the ultimate political effects of the new pope's leadership, his visit had a powerful impact upon the Polish people.

Despite the crowds that followed John Paul's travels—300,000 in Victory Square in Warsaw, at least half a million at the Jasna Góra monastery, 10,000 singing the national anthem under his window in Kraków, and 1 million for his final Mass—the regime did its best to play down the visit. Television producers were told to focus on the pope rather than on the crowds. In neighboring Communist countries, television coverage was extremely brief, and newspapers ran small stories on inside pages.

Economic developments. As a result of ten years of deficits in trade with the West, Poland has accumulated a foreign currency debt of US$15 billion, the highest of any Eastern European nation. Total

yearly interest and repayment charges amount to more than half of the country's annual earnings in convertible currencies, and its ratio of debt service to foreign exchange earnings is one of the highest in the world. Nevertheless, in late March Poland obtained a $550 million loan from Western banks. On June 18 an agreement was signed between Fiat, the Italian automaker, and the Polish automobile industry providing for cooperation in the production of vehicles.

Floods caused extensive crop damage in the spring, adding to the food shortages that have angered Polish consumers in recent years. The hardest-hit areas were the basins of the Bug River in the east and the Warta River in the west.

Dissidents. Squads from Communist student groups broke up sessions of the "flying universities," or underground meetings in private apartments and lofts for the teaching of subjects forbidden in state schools.

In general, however, the Polish authorities tried to avoid overt moves that might cause a backlash among dissidents. There were no reports of arrests following an unauthorized rally July 31 in Warsaw, at which several speakers made anti-Soviet remarks. At a later rally, dissidents actually announced the creation of an antigovernment political party aimed at the overthrow of the Communist state.

Finance. Monetary unit, z'oty; 1 z'oty = US$0.0350. Budget (1977, in billions of z'otys): revenue, 993.95; expenditures, 887.6.

Trade. (1977, in billions of z'otys). Exports, 40.75; imports, 48.56. Principal trading partners: Soviet Union, East Germany, West Germany, Czechoslovakia.

Education (1977-1978). Enrollment: primary schools, 4,256,800; secondary and vocational schools, 2,584,300; universities and technical colleges, 491,400.[12]

1980: Poland

Workers won major concessions from the Communist Party leadership this summer, including the right to form free trade unions, after a series of convulsive strikes that shook the Polish government and apparently caused the fall of party chief Edward Gierek. Gierek was replaced by a relative unknown, Politburo member Stanislaw Kania.

Workers' uprising. The unrest began on July 2, when workers in scattered factories around the country walked off their jobs to protest sharp increases in meat prices announced the day before. Over the next few weeks, some 150 strikes erupted, highlighted by the July 16 blockade of the Lublin railroad station by striking railroad workers. Most of these workers returned to their jobs after being promised wage increases to compensate for the higher meat prices. Their protests, however, were quickly overshadowed by the walkout of 17,000 Lenin Shipyard workers, at the Baltic seaport of Gdañsk, on August 14. The workers, organized by electrician-turned-labor leader Lech Walesa, quickly took control of the yard. By the next day, 50,000 workers in the area were on strike, including Gdañsk city bus drivers, and in a few days more than 100,000 in the industrial north were out on strike. Gierek attempted to restore order by offering pay increases, but Walesa and other strike leaders were making a total of 23 demands, including several unheard of in a Communist-controlled government: the right to strike, the establishment of trade unions independent of party and government control, censorship curbs, restoration of rights or release from jail for leaders of the 1970 strikes and the 1976 food riots, guarantees and rehabilitation for dissidents, and a whole range of social and economic improvements.

The Roman Catholic Church, to which 95 percent of Poles belong, sought to keep the crisis from spreading but did not play a major role. On August 22, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish primate, expressed "understanding" of the workers' feelings, but implied that he was opposed to the methods they were using to display them. His remarks were thought to be motivated by fear of Soviet intervention. Four days later, in an unprecedented appearance on Polish state television, the cardinal repeated his call for prudence. His speech, edited by the government, left many workers disappointed; the Polish church later criticized the government for the editing. Pope John Paul II, former archbishop of Kraków and the hero of the strikers, also trod cautiously; he offered public prayers for his native country but took no open part in the controversy.

The first governmental casualty of the strike was Premier Edward Babiuch, who was removed from office on August 24. He was replaced by Jozef Pinkowski, a central committee secretary. Babiuch, who had been named to the post in February, following the ouster of Piotr Jaroszewicz as a result of previous economic problems and worker unrest, was responsible for the decision to raise meat prices in July.

With Soviet troops already stationed in Poland and many more just across the long border with the Soviet Union, Polish authorities, and even strike leaders, exercised caution. Public marches were avoided, and strikers kept their distance from political dissidents (who were, nevertheless, active in making contacts with Western journalists). The party daily *Trybuna Ludu* warned that Poland, "within the direct security

zone of the world's socialist superpower, the Soviet Union," must not make any basic changes in the Communist system, and Walesa appealed to workers in other parts of the nation not to let the strikes spread.

Despite the shortages of food and supplies they brought on, the strikes did spread to a number of other cities, including Warsaw, £ódŸ, Wroclaw, and Poznañ, to involve a total of about 300,000 workers. By August 29, strikes had also broken out in Gierek's home territory, the rich coal mines of Silesia, where demands were heightened by a mining accident that killed eight miners and injured 18. Close to 350,000 miners and workers in the region walked off their jobs.

Negotiations between the government, led by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, and the Interfactory Strike Committee, led by Walesa, began in earnest on August 23. Telephone lines from Gdañsk, which had been cut off when the strike began, were restored, and negotiating sessions were broadcast to thousands of workers waiting anxiously in the yard. In a remarkable relaxation of censorship, Polish newspapers also carried news of the negotiations.

On August 30, the negotiators reached an agreement that gave workers most of their demands, including the right to strike and the right to form self-governing trade unions independent of the Communist Party. In exchange, workers agreed to affirm their support for the government and to keep the unions nonpolitical. The signing ceremony was televised nationally the following day. Workers in Gdañsk returned to their jobs on September 1; the miners went back a few days later, after winning their own demands for free unions and a change in work shifts.

No sooner had a sense of calm settled over the country when another government shakeup occurred. On September 5 it was announced that Edward Gierek had been hospitalized with a heart ailment; early the next day, the government announced that he was being replaced as party first secretary by Stanislaw Kania, a Politburo member who had been in charge of military and security affairs. Kania's appointment was followed by a purge of Gierek supporters; by mid-October, 17 officials, including six cabinet ministers, had been ousted from the government.

A congratulatory message from Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev left no doubt that Kania enjoyed Soviet support. As for Kania, in his first speech to the nation he referred to the importance of Poland's "alliance with the Soviet Union" and characterized the series of strikes as a protest against the "mistakes of the party," rather than "the principles of socialism." At the same time, the new Polish leader spoke of a need to "regain confidence" and promised to implement the provisions of the August 31 agreement.

Whether the pledge would be carried out to the satisfaction of the workers was an open question. In some areas, local officials blocked workers' attempts to form unions; implementation of wage settlements was slow in coming, and union leaders protested that their access to the media was being blocked. On October 3 the new unions held a symbolic one-hour strike to protest these inhibitions. On October 24 the association of independent unions, Solidarity, won legal status from a Warsaw court, but on the condition that it recognize the "leading role" of the Communist Party. Solidarity appealed to Poland's Supreme Court, claiming the condition was illegal. While the case was pending, talks between Solidarity leaders and Prime Minister Pinkowski produced a compromise agreement to remove the phrase objected to by the union organization from Solidarity's charter and instead to append to the charter a portion of the Gdañsk agreement affirming the workers' commitment to Communism and recognition of the party's leadership. The Supreme Court then handed down a decision November 10 incorporating this compromise.

Another question mark in Poland's future was the attitude of the Soviet Union. During the strike, Moscow was restrained in its public comments, but the Soviets were apparently worried about the terms of the settlement, as evidenced by their jamming of radio broadcasts and by movements of troops along the Polish border. Moscow was also upset about expressions of solidarity extended to the Poles by the AFL-CIO and by that organization's offer of funds for Polish unions.

Economy. The crisis had its roots in decades of economic mismanagement by Gierek and his predecessors, with no cure yet in sight for the massive problems that remained. Fearful of labor unrest, successive governments in the past had continued expensive subsidies for food and supports for the nation's inefficient private farms. Meat subsidies alone cost some $2.5 billion during the year, and a bad harvest and low productivity required massive imports of grain and fodder. Nevertheless, food shortages worsened late in the year, prompting the government to virtually halt exports of food (primarily processed meat).

Higher energy prices helped Poland gain more from its coal exports—about one-fifth of the country's hard currency earnings -- and rising revenues from its silver and copper mines have helped bring in money, but only the slashing of critical imports, prior to the strike, kept the trade balance out of deficit. Poland also had a massive debt to the West, amounting to more than $20 billion by late in the year. The cutoff of meat exports was expected to make financing this huge debt even more difficult.

The cost of the strike settlement was also expected to add to Poland's economic woes. A consortium of West

German banks, urged on by the Bonn government and their own large commitments to the Polish economy, granted a loan of $672 million at a critical time in the strike wave, but more was needed. The strikes alone cost about $1 billion in lost production, and the cost of the settlement was said to be at least $3.3 billion for wage increases and additional food subsidies. On September 11, the Soviet Union, in a meeting with Jagielski, promised to send more food and manufactured goods to Poland. The exact amount was not disclosed, but earlier it had been revealed that the Soviets had also agreed to increase oil deliveries by 4 million metric tons and to give the Poles a hard currency loan of $550 million to cover interest due on loans from Western governments. President Jimmy Carter, on September 12, announced that the United States had granted Poland $670 million in credit guarantees for grain purchases.

Foreign affairs. In the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Poland attempted to limit the damage to East-West relations. Gierek was instrumental in arranging a May 19 summit meeting between French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Soviet President Brezhnev; the Warsaw meeting produced no tangible results, however. Together with the French Communist Party, the Polish Communists also hosted a Communist summit in late April to discuss the effects of the Afghanistan invasion. However, although the Poles took a conciliatory line, in the end they joined in an endorsement of the Soviet action, and the conference was boycotted by many important European Communist parties.

Government. People's republic. Nominally highest government body, the Sejm (legislature); dominant political power, Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party. Party first secy., Stanislaw Kania; chmn. of Council of State (pres.), Henryk Jab'oñski; chmn. of the Council of Ministers (prime min.), Jozef Pinkowski.

Finance. Monetary unit, zloty; 1 zloty = US$0.0350.

Trade. (1977, in billions of zlotys): Imports, 48.6, exports, 40.8. Principal imports: oil, ore, grain, automobiles. Principal exports: coal, lignite, coke, fertilizer, railway rolling stock, ships.

Education (1978). Primary schools, 14,747; enrollment, 4,256,000. Secondary and vocational schools, 11,926; enrollment, 2,627,000. Universities and higher schools, 89; enrollment, 491,000.

Armed forces (est. 1980). Army, 210,000; navy, 22,500; air force, 85,000; paramilitary forces, 95,000.[13]

1981: Poland

The year in Poland was dominated by prolonged political and economic crisis. The independent Solidarity trade union, authorized by the Communist regime after a series of strikes that paralyzed the economy in the summer of 1980, sought to maintain and possibly expand its influence. The government, with the threat of punitive measures by the Soviets or of a full-scale Soviet intervention constantly in the background, sought to pacify the Solidarity union and, at the same time, convince Moscow that it was able to maintain control. The Polish economy virtually collapsed, as shortages of food and other basic commodities, as well as housing, caused serious hardships to Polish citizens.

Party leader Stanislaw Kania was forced to resign in October, 13 months after taking office, when the Central Committee, acting under Soviet pressure, found him incapable of dealing firmly with the nation's problems. He was replaced by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who kept his posts as premier (obtained earlier this year) and defense minister. The Soviet Union expressed initial praise for Jaruzelski and urged him to use his "great prestige" to rally others against "counterrevolution."

Early unrest. Factory workers staged a one-day walkout on Saturday, January 10, and a much larger one-day walkout two weeks later, protesting a government plan requiring work on 26 Saturdays during 1981. The protests, over what the union regarded as a violation of the August 31 Gdañsk agreements between the government and Solidarity, were the largest since those of October 1980. On January 31, the union and the government reached an agreement on several issues, including a 40-hour workweek beginning in 1982 and a reduction in the number of working Saturdays in 1981; in return, the union ultimately called off a planned one-hour general strike. Regional unrest continued, however.

On February 9, Jozef Pinkowski was, in effect, ousted as premier; he was replaced by General Jaruzelski, who also retained his previous post as minister of defense. Jaruzelski, who became Poland's fourth premier in less than a year, had a reputation as a moderate on domestic issues. The new premier appealed for a 90-day moratorium on any strike activity, to give him the chance to deal with the nation's problems.

The premier's appeal for labor peace was followed by a brief period of calm in the industrial sector. However, on March 10 workers in LódŸ staged a one-hour strike over the dismissal of union members from their jobs, and the next day, workers in Radom threatened to strike over an incident in which four Solidarity

supporters were beaten by unidentified persons.

Rural Solidarity. Despite the premier's appeal, agitation continued among Polish farmers, seeking a voice of their own through the establishment of an independent Rural Solidarity union. Under the leadership of 23-year-old Jan Kulaj, the farmers had resorted to court action and to a series of sit-ins in their efforts to reverse the government's position that they were ineligible to join a union because they worked for themselves.

On February 10, the Supreme Court ruled that recognition of the union would not be illegal, but indicated that there was no legal requirement that it be recognized. Subsequently, a protest by farm activists at Bydgoszcz, 60 miles southwest of Gdañsk, stirred serious violence by police. The incident occurred on March 19, when a meeting between farm union organizers and local officials was abruptly adjourned before the unionists could be heard, and the farmers responded with a sit-in. Police wielding riot sticks charged the hall, and three union officials were severely beaten. The following day, Solidarity announced a nationwide strike alert. Ultimately, a general strike, threatened for March 31, was averted after a compromise agreement was reached between the national Solidarity leaders and the government, which held Bydgoszcz officials accountable for the March 19 attack and pledged an end to the harassment of farm labor organizers. The government subsequently agreed to permit the creation of an independent farmers' union, and Rural Solidarity was officially recognized in a court ruling in May.

The party in crisis. In early March, as industrial strikes resumed and agitation continued among farmers seeking to win an independent union, senior Polish and Soviet officials met in Warsaw; a Polish report indicated that the Soviet Union had implicitly reasserted the right to intervene by force if necessary to safeguard a "socialist Poland." The Soviet Union also announced in early March that large-scale Warsaw Pact military maneuvers would be staged shortly in Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. In late March, a landing operation was staged along Poland's Baltic coast, and war games were begun at several other locations inside Poland; however, the Soviets sought to allay Western fears that an invasion might be imminent.

With the maneuvers proceeding and labor unrest continuing, the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party held an emergency meeting in Warsaw on March 30. Rank-and-file delegates made strong criticisms of the party leadership, and some members of the ten-member Politburo offered to resign. Their resignations were not accepted, however, and the Polish government reached agreement with Solidarity later the same day, averting the planned March 31 general strike.

On April 7, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev, at a speech before a Czechoslovak Communist Party congress in Prague, accused "class enemies" of seeking to hamper the development of Communism in Poland and made an analogy between the situation in Poland and that in Czechoslovakia prior to the Soviet invasion of 1968, but he also expressed a degree of confidence in the ability of the Poles to solve their problems. Several hours after his speech it was announced that the Soviet-bloc military exercises in and around Poland had ended after three weeks and that troops were returning to their bases, and on April 10, Parliament passed a measure banning strike activity for two months.

In early June, protest activity was again in evidence, and Solidarity had threatened to call a two-hour warning strike in four northern provinces. Solidarity leaders were reportedly disturbed that the government had made little progress in responding to long-standing union demands, including a curb on censorship and enactment of a comprehensive trade union law. On June 5, the Polish party leadership received a harshly worded official letter from the Soviet Central Committee criticizing Party Secretary Stanislaw Kania and Premier Jaruzelski for failure to act decisively and warning that "we will not leave Poland alone" at the mercy of counterrevolutionaries. During an emergency session of the Central Committee on June 10-11, Kania told delegates the Soviets were justified in their warnings and promised to take strong "disciplinary measures" against ideological deviation within the party; at that meeting, an effort by hard-liners to oust Kania as party leader failed, and no changes were made in the Politburo. However, Solidarity temporarily withdrew its strike threat, and Jaruzelski, on June 12, announced the dismissal of five cabinet members. He also outlined measures for economic reform and promised to take action against illegal dissident activity.

Party congress. An emergency party congress was held on July 14-20 to restore party morale and effectiveness in dealing with problems. The congress was a landmark event in the history of Communist rule. Delegates had been chosen by secret ballot, with a genuine choice of candidates, and only 43 of the incumbent Central Committee members were among those selected. Of the nearly 2,000 delegates, only about 120 had attended a previous party congress. The delegates voted mostly for moderates, in elections for an expanded 200-member Central Committee, which nominated candidates for party secretary. In an unprecedented secret ballot vote by the delegates, Kania was reelected to that post, defeating moderate Kazimierz Barcilowski by a vote of 1,311 to 568. (Other candidates had also been nominated, but they declined to run.)

Members of a newly expanded, 15-member Politburo

were elected by the Central Committee; only four incumbents were chosen, among them Kania and Jaruzelski.

The Congress did not deal in depth with the bleak economic situation; it concentrated instead on the errors of the past, expelling former party leader Edward Gierek and several of his associates from the party, accusing them of causing the current crisis through bad policies and corruption. At the same time, Jaruzelski announced to the congress that there would be price increases of more than 100 percent in food and other basic commodities.

Food strikes. Continuing shortages led to the rationing of tobacco and gasoline, as well as of sugar, meat, and other basic foods. A government decision on July 24 to reduce meat rations by 20 percent set off a wave of demonstrations, and even after the decision was rescinded on July 27, protest over shortages and price increases continued into mid-August. Workers throughout the nation staged short strikes; rallies were held in major cities; and in Warsaw, a column of trucks, buses, and trolleys blocked a downtown intersection for two days. This kind of action represented a shift in tactics for Solidarity, which heretofore had confined its protests to the factory floor and shipbuilding yard.

Finally, in an effort to ease the tension, the Solidarity leadership asked its supporters to end the strikes and demonstrations over food shortages until its own congress met and had an opportunity to formulate strategies. Government restraint in handling the protesters avoided bloodshed, but officials warned that in the coming winter Poland faced food and fuel shortages more severe than any since World War II.

Solidarity congress. In two separate sessions during September and October, Solidarity held its first congress—also the first by a free trade union organization in the history of Communist rule.

In what seemed to be a violation of a prior agreement to remain nonpolitical, the union, during the first session, issued a call for free elections to the regional and national parliaments and voiced support for the right of workers in neighboring Communist countries to form their own independent trade unions. Delegates also voted to demand a national referendum on worker self-management in factories. Compromise legislation enacted by the Parliament on September 25, and approved by Solidarity leaders, provided for substantial self-management, including the right for elected workers' councils to share with the state the power to hire and fire managers, in nonstrategic industries only.

Although the union demands reflected increasing frustration with the government's failure to solve Poland's economic problems, the stridency of its voice marked a challenge by the radicals in the movement to the more moderate leadership of Lech Walesa. This factionalism was further evidenced in the second phase of the convention (beginning September 26), when the membership reprimanded Walesa and other leaders for acting undemocratically in reaching a private compromise with the government on the worker self-management issue.

In the end, however, the vote for union leader was a victory for the moderates. Walesa won with 55 percent of the vote, and the fact that he did not do better was attributed largely to his somewhat high-handed style of leadership. His closest opponent, with 24 percent of the vote, was another moderate, while the two militant candidates trailed well behind.

The Polish government and the Soviet Union reacted harshly to the union congress. The Soviet Union, which had 100,000 troops holding maneuvers on the Polish border, described the union's actions as part of a politically inspired campaign of anti-Sovietism. The Polish government, charging that Solidarity had become a "political opposition that hits at the vital interest of the Polish nation," warned that such a course could lead to a "confrontation threatening bloodshed." Walesa himself advised the delegates to be patient and take a "step by step" approach.

Jaruzelski in power. While the Solidarity congress was still in session, the government announced a series of price hikes, but after talks with Solidarity the increases were temporarily put off. Shortly afterward, on October 18, the Central Committee replaced Kania with Jaruzelski as party leader and called for stronger government measures, including renegotiation of the Gdañsk agreements, restoration of the six-day workweek, and suspension of the right to strike.

Wildcat strikes continued, and on October 20, police in Katowice clashed with some 5,000 protesters angered by the arrest of activists distributing Solidarity literature. The government deployed troops throughout the country in an effort to bolster local authority and also deal with food shortages and other problems. On October 28, in defiance of a government demand, Solidarity called a one-hour work stoppage to protest continuing food shortages. The national Solidarity leadership then sought to discourage further strike activity, and a resolution in Parliament called for a halt to all strikes, but some strikes persisted. Meanwhile, Jaruzelski announced a governmental reorganization, involving the ouster of five ministers and a deputy premier.

The new freedom. Symbolic of Poland's new atmosphere of freedom was *Solidarity Weekly*, a national newspaper which the union obtained permission to publish early this year. Readers gladly

paid ten times the normal price for scarce copies of the paper, which conducted investigations, criticized the government, and published frank letters from readers—all things that the official government press, even under relaxed censorship, did badly or not at all.

Advances also were made by young people. Some 10,000 students at the University of LódŸ staged a protest on January 21, demanding an independent student organization and a series of educational reforms. Unrest spread to some 20 other institutions of higher learning, and a general strike was threatened. However, the government gave in to a number of demands, including permission to form a student organization, provided that it accepted the leading role of the Communist Party; the strike was then called off.

The economy. After years of rosy and, in some cases, falsified, reports, Poles learned the truth about their faltering economy. The state planning commission announced that the budget deficit for the year would be about $8 billion, twice the original estimate. Industrial output during the first quarter fell 10 percent below the comparable 1980 figure, and by midyear was 18 percent behind the level of mid-1980. The vital coal industry declined 21 percent. Food production was down by 15 percent, with meat production down a stunning 34 percent. The commission introduced a revised economic plan to allow for the drop in production and in national income, which was 15 percent below the 1980 level.

The shortage of hard currency that accompanied the downward economic spiral made it more difficult than ever for the Polish government to service its debt to Western governments and bankers, estimated at $27 billion. To prevent Poland from going bankrupt and to enable it to buy essential food and other goods, Western governments rescheduled a $2.6 billion debt repayment due in 1981 and said they would look "positively" at requests to reschedule other massive repayments in the years ahead. Agreement was also reached on rescheduling of debt owed to banks during 1981.

The economic situation had repercussions in the East as well. The Soviet Union depends on Poland for components for its automobile industry. And Hungary, which was not receiving its promised supplies of Polish coal, began to hold up exports of pharmaceuticals to Poland. Situations like these, multiplied many times throughout the Soviet bloc, emphasized the Soviet stake in Poland's stability and recovery and were a principal reason for Soviet credits, estimated at $4.5 billion, granted during the year. The United States, meanwhile, had granted Poland more than $740 million in credits and food aid by late October.

Probably the most critical area of the economy was the coal industry. In 1979, Poland was the world's second-largest exporter of coal, behind the United States. But since then, largely because of work stoppages and shorter work weeks, production has plummeted, falling 21 percent between mid-1980 and mid-1981 alone. In an effort to ease the situation, during the summer Solidarity agreed to allow voluntary Saturday work in the mines and in other strategic industries, and the government has offered premium pay.

The regime, meanwhile, tried to fix the blame for the economic collapse. It was clear that blaming the unions or political unrest alone would not sit well with the Polish people. Government investigators looked into the cases of nearly 10,000 persons accused of mismanagement or wrongdoing and found enough evidence to charge about half of them before a special party commission.

The Church. The Roman Catholic Church, which claims more than 90 percent of the population as members, continued to play a moderating role in the crisis, advising Solidarity through its national network of lay intellectual clubs and influencing events with sermons or statements. That task was made more difficult with the death from cancer on May 28 of Stefan Cardinal Wyszyñski, 79, who, in his 33 years as Primate of Poland, worked to protect the Church and the individual from the excesses of Communist rule. More than 250,000 people gathered to hear a requiem mass, and President Henryk Jabloñski walked in a funeral procession that included Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the special envoy of the pope, Agostino Cardinal Casaroli.

Pope John Paul named Jozef Glemp, a 52-year-old prelate who served many years as Wyszyñski's chief aide, to succeed him as Primate of Poland and archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw.

Government. People's republic. Nominally highest government body, the Sejm (legislature); dominant political power, Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party. Party first secy. and prem., Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski; chmn. of Council of State (pres.), Henryk Jabloñski.

Finance. Monetary unit, zloty; 1 zloty = US$0.0350.

Trade. (1979, in millions of zlotys). Imports, 54,015; exports, 50,141. Principal exports: coal, lignite, coke, fertilizer, railway rolling stock, ships.

Education (1981). Primary schools, 15,563; enrollment, 4,326,000. Secondary and vocational schools, 11,902; enrollment, 2,648,000. Universities and higher schools, 89; enrollment, 490,000.[14]

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